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Top Secret 219

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DAILY CABLE

Friday 16 September 1977 CG NIDC 77/216C



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National Intelligence Daily Cable for Friday, 16 September 1977.

The mid cable is for the purpose of informing senior US officials.

CONTENTS

USSR: New Soviet Attack

Page 3

FRANCE: Left Alliance

Page 5

IRAN - EASTERN EUROPE: Iranian Oil

Page 7

USSR: Indian Ocean Policy

Page 8

USSR-RHODESIA: Relations

Page 9

POLAND: Cardinal Wyszynski Ill

Page 10

WARSAW PACT: NATO Exercise Observers

Page 11

INDO-CHINA: No Change in Policy

Page 15

BRIEFS:

Page 15

Colombia

China--USSR

25X1

Approved For Release 2007/03/09 : CIA-RDP79T00975A030300010062-6

Next 1 Page(s) In Document Exempt

Approved For Release 2007/03/09 : CIA-RDP79T00975A030300010062-6

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#### USSR: New Soviet Attack

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*[redacted] //A new Soviet attack on Eurocommunism that describes it as an imperialist concept aimed at fragmenting and subverting the Communist movement depicts with unusual candor Moscow's concern with the threat that Eurocommunist doctrines pose to Soviet interests.//*

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*[redacted] //The new attack appears in the weekly *New Times*, the same publication that served as a vehicle in June and July for attacks on the outspoken Eurocommunist and Spanish party*

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leader, Santiago Carrillo. As it did in the case of these earlier pieces, Tass distributed on Tuesday an advance version of the article to ensure a wide audience. Unlike the earlier attacks the new article does not publicly identify Carrillo or any other Western Communist leader as its target.//

25X1 [ ] *New Times* instead devotes its main effort to minimizing the Marxist origins of the Eurocommunist "heresy." It asserts that no one denies the need for the Western parties to adapt their strategy and tactics to local conditions, but charges that "certain circles" have sought to inject anti-Soviet and anti-Communist content into the doctrines of certain Western parties. This charge clearly is meant to make it more difficult for Western parties to espouse their views because it identifies their policies with those of Western "imperialism."

25X1 [ ] The foreign policy journal names "the American administration"--and specifically Dr. Brzezinski, who it describes as "an authority in the formulation of this tactic"--as among the chief backers of Eurocommunism. It asserts that support for "anti-Communism" in the guise of Eurocommunism represents a recognition that Dr. Kissinger's policy of direct opposition to West European Communism has failed, and is "an attempt to change these parties in a way that would prevent them from interfering in imperialist strategy."

25X1 [ ] The article charges that these "bourgeois politicians" intend to achieve four principal goals through the propagation of Eurocommunist ideas:

--Divide the Communist parties of the Communist and the capitalist countries.

--Create a "division between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties in the other socialist countries."

--Divide the Communist parties of the West into pro-Soviet and anti-Soviet factions.

--Achieve the "de-Leninization" of the Western parties and their conversion into Social Democratic parties.

25X1 [ ] //The article is noteworthy for its defensive tone. Especially unusual is its admission of concern over the appeal of Eurocommunist ideas in Eastern Europe--which it describes as an appeal for a "modernization" of the existing system there. Soviet concern with the appeal of Eurocommunist tenets in Eastern Europe is, however, not new; in the past these have both inspired and justified demands by dissidents for reform.//

25X1 [ ] The unidentified authors of the article also strike a defensive note in attempting to rebut the charge that Moscow is opposed to the entry of Western Communists into government because of fear that this would endanger East-West detente and ultimately "undermine the foundations of the Soviet system."

25X1 [ ] The unidentified authors of the article also strike a defensive note in attempting to rebut the charge that Moscow is opposed to the entry of Western Communists into government because of fear that this would endanger East-West detente and ultimately "undermine the foundations of the Soviet system." *New Times* dismisses this as an argument designed for "political 25X1 idiots."

FRANCE: Left Alliance

25X1 [ ] //Relations among the three parties in the French Left Alliance are in a state of momentary confusion following the sudden walkout by the Left Radicals from the three-party summit meeting on Wednesday. Socialist leader Mitterrand, taken by surprise, was furious at the Left Radicals.//

25X1 [ ] //Socialist and Left Radical leaders had caucused on the eve of the alliance meeting to iron out remaining differences in their views and to present a common front to the Communists. Though only minor differences on language remained, Left Radical leaders were left with the suspicion that the Socialists might be willing to make more concessions to the Communists on nationalizations than the Radicals could accept. The Radicals then made a snap decision to walk out of the meeting after the Communists had repeatedly refused to withdraw their demands for further nationalizations.//

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[redacted]//Mitterrand has bought time by announcing that the Socialist Party's directing committee will meet on Monday to discuss the situation. He has also refused to take part in bilateral talks with Communist Party leader Marchais.//

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[redacted]//Radical leaders believe the Communists are anxious to avoid breaking up the Left Alliance.

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[redacted]//No dramatic developments are likely until after the Socialists meet. In the meantime, tempers may cool and there will be much backstairs maneuvering. The Left Radicals have upset Mitterrand's game plan, but there is as yet no indication that an irreparable break has occurred.

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#### IRAN - EASTERN EUROPE: Iranian Oil

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[redacted] Czechoslovak officials told the Shah of Iran during his recent visit that the Soviets had informed Prague that additional oil to meet its growing energy requirements must come from non-Soviet sources. Attempts by Poland to arrange future Iranian oil deliveries during the Shah's visit to that country suggest that there is a ceiling on future Soviet oil deliveries to Poland as well.

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[redacted] Czechoslovakia and Poland are trying to arrange barter deals with Iran because both have mounting balance-of-payments problems. The Shah refused to make any commitments, replying that arrangements for payment would take time to work out. Further discussions are to be held at later dates--for Czechoslovakia, possibly as late as next March at the annual Iranian-Czechoslovak mixed trade commission meeting.

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[redacted] The Czechoslovaks did not specify how much Iranian oil they desired, but Poland indicated that it would like to obtain enough oil to operate the new Gdansk refinery, which has a crude charge capacity of 60,000 barrels per day. Poland received a small quantity of Iranian crude oil during the past summer on a one-shot basis in exchange for Polish construction work in Iran.

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[ ] Soviet oil deliveries to Czechoslovakia and Poland now account for nearly all of their oil supplies. In 1976, Soviet oil deliveries to the two countries were about 340,000 and 280,000 barrels per day, respectively. Under Soviet trade agreements with Czechoslovakia and Poland for 1976-80, supplies of Soviet oil in 1980 were to reach about 390,000 and 320,000 barrels per day, respectively. [ ]

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#### USSR: Indian Ocean Policy

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[ ] *The Soviets reaffirmed their position on arms limitations in the Indian Ocean in a lengthy commentary in Izvestiya this week. The article, criticizing US policy in the area, appeared two weeks before the reconvening of the US-Soviet Working Group on the Indian Ocean.*

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[ ] *Izvestiya* repeated familiar Soviet criticisms of US Indian Ocean policy. It accused the US and its allies of trying to encircle the Indian Ocean with military bases. It singled out Diego Garcia as a place where the US is allegedly spending millions of dollars to build a base capable of supporting strategic operations.

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[ ] The article pointed out that the US regularly sends naval units including carriers into the Indian Ocean and is preparing plans for possible activities in the Persian Gulf. The US was also accused of trying to create new military alliances similar to ANZUS and CENTO and "new pro-imperialist groupings" in the region. In contrast, *Izvestiya* noted Soviet support in the UN for eliminating foreign military bases from the Indian Ocean and transforming it into a "zone of peace."

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[ ] The standard themes repeated in the article are probably intended to gain the support of the nations around the Indian Ocean for Soviet proposals. Both India and Sri Lanka have raised the "zone of peace" idea, for example; it is unlikely, however, that the Soviets interpret the concept as broadly as the South Asians.

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[ ] The Soviet delegates at the first round of Indian Ocean arms limitations talks in June were serious but suspicious of US intentions. They called for a ban on strategic

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weapons and support facilities in the Indian Ocean. In effect this was meant to prohibit the US from deploying ballistic missile submarines, aircraft carriers, and B-52s in the area and to eliminate the US from Diego Garcia.

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[ ] Underlying these demands is a Soviet belief that a limited arms race has already begun in the Indian Ocean and that the US, because of its allies and more secure access to facilities, has an edge in conventional military capabilities there. At the same time, the Soviets are concerned that the area not be used by US strategic forces. Any agreement, they assert, must take these factors into account and be based on the principle of equality.

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[ ] The *Izvestiya* commentary seems to indicate that Moscow remains committed to at least the basic aspects of this position. [ ]

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#### USSR-RHODESIA: Relations

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[ ] *The Soviets have been critical of the UK-US proposal for a Rhodesian settlement, but would probably support it if the African frontline states and the Rhodesian Patriotic Front did so.*

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[ ] The Soviets have defined the liberation struggle in southern Africa as the most important issue on the African continent. They have little interest, however, in supporting any UK-US initiative for a settlement because it runs the risk of establishing a new government in Rhodesia beholden to the USSR. This would be a setback for Soviet policy and could lead to a decline in Soviet influence throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

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[ ] Soviet news commentary on the settlement proposal has been critical. The Soviet press has asserted that the proposal is really aimed at protecting American and British strategic interests in southern Africa by creating pro-Western, anti-Communist regimes "in which the same old racists would be in command."

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[redacted] In spite of their propaganda, there are indications that the Soviets might support at least key parts of the UK-US proposal if the frontline states and the Patriotic Front do so. 25X1

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[redacted] At present, the presidents of the frontline states and the Patriotic Front generally support the UK-US proposal as a framework for negotiation. At the same time, the Front's press statement, signed by Front leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, criticizes many aspects of the proposal.

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[redacted] Moscow may hope that the Patriotic Front's objections will derail the UK-US initiative. If not, Moscow would have little choice but to go along with the Africans in order not to offend them or further arouse their suspicions of Soviet intentions and sincerity. There are precedents for such a Soviet posture. In the Middle East, for example, the Soviets, although skeptical, have supported the concept of an active UN role as a means of undercutting US initiatives and currying Arab favor. 25X1

POLAND: Cardinal Wyszynski Ill

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[redacted] *Warsaw is rife with rumors that Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish Primate, is seriously ill with liver cancer, according to the US Embassy. A Church spokesman said on Monday that the Cardinal had jaundice and had entered the hospital on 8 September for an examination. On Wednesday, another Church source said that the Primate is recovering and would leave the hospital in three weeks.* 25X1

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[ ] The death or incapacitation of Cardinal Wyszynski would have serious political implications for Poland. Wyszynski exercises immense moral authority in the country. Although he has prodded the regime on human rights issues and stoutly defended the Church's rights, he has played a very important moderating role during periods of extreme tension.

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[ ] The leading candidate to replace Wyszynski as Archbishop of Warsaw and Polish Primate is Cardinal Wojtila--the only other Cardinal in Poland. Several sources have said that Wojtila would press harder on controversial issues and that Polish authorities expressed misgivings about Wojtila when Wyszynski's retirement was discussed last year. [ ]

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#### WARSAW PACT: NATO Exercise Observers

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[ ] *Warsaw Pact members for the first time have designated military observers to attend NATO exercises--Arrow Express in Denmark and Standhafte Chatten in Germany.*

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[ ] Signatories to the 1975 Helsinki accords agreed to announce all major military maneuvers involving more than 25,000 men. The USSR and Turkey are to report those major maneuvers that take place within 250 kilometers of a frontier with another Helsinki Conference participant. The accords do not require that observers be invited.

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[ ] Parts of the exercise in Denmark will take place throughout the month, but the main field maneuver is scheduled for next week. The maneuver is a field training exercise on the Islands of Zealand involving some 16,000 troops in air and land units of the Allied Command Europe Mobile Force, the UK, and Denmark. The Danes reportedly sent invitations to three Warsaw Pact countries--the USSR, Poland, and Romania. The USSR and Poland have accepted; Romania has not yet responded. The Soviets will send their Copenhagen-based military attache.

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[ ] The West German Government invited Warsaw Pact countries to attend the NATO exercise Standhafte Chatten scheduled for this week. Some 38,000 US and West German troops are to be involved. According to West German officials, the Soviets designated their military attache in Bonn as a representative. Hungary declined the invitation; the other Warsaw Pact members did not respond.

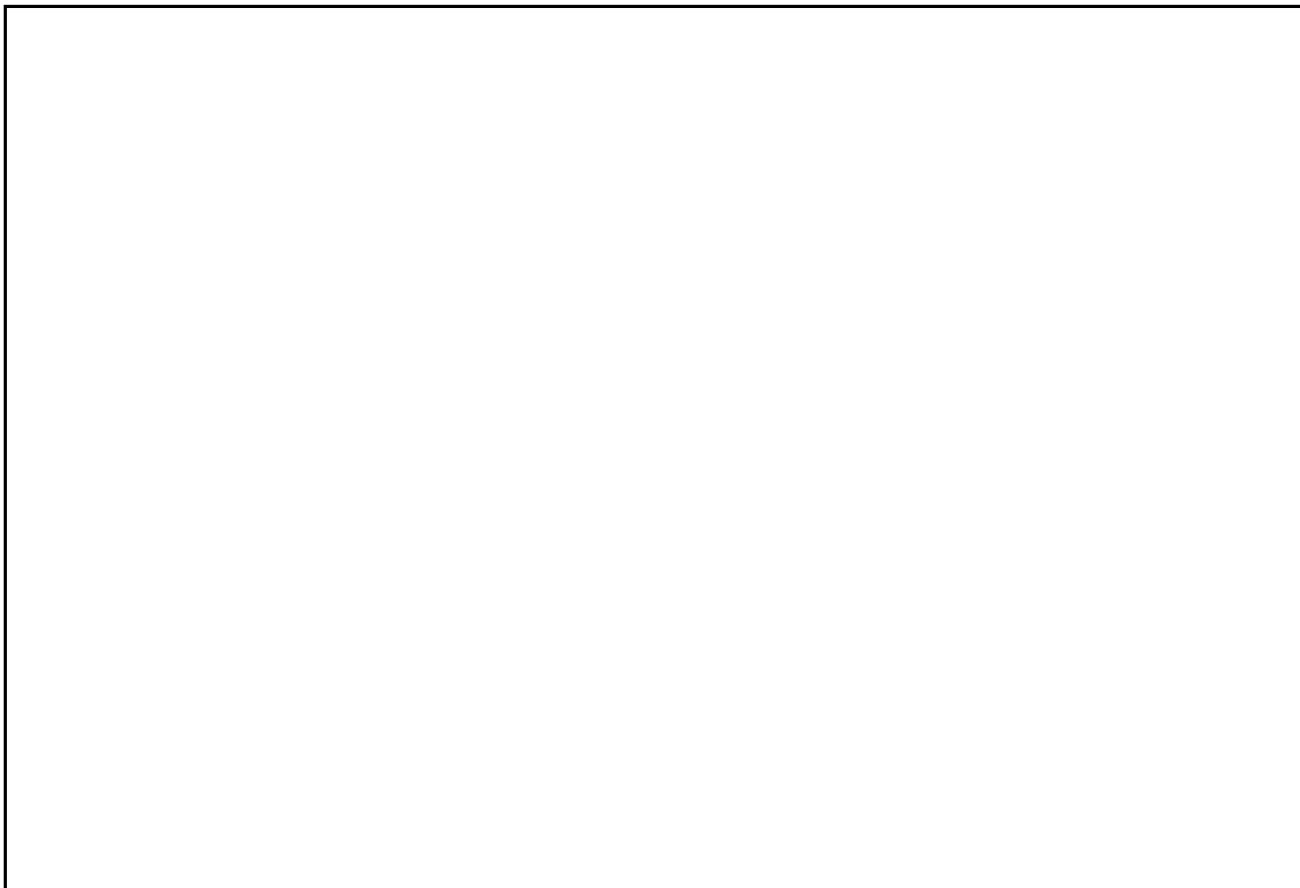
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[ ] Warsaw Pact countries have been invited to NATO maneuvers before, but they have never sent observers. In June, five West European countries and Yugoslavia sent observers to an exercise in the USSR. This was the largest number of Western observers ever invited to a Soviet exercise.

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[ ] That invitation coincided with the preliminary European security and cooperation talks in Belgrade. The Soviet acceptance of the recent Western invitations precedes the official opening of the formal talks that begin on 4 October. Both actions are consistent with other indications that the Soviets are taking a more positive view of the "confidence building measures" section of the Helsinki accords. [ ]

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INDIA-CHINA: No Change in Policy

25X1 [ ] Officials in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs have made it clear that no changes in that country's brittle relations with China are imminent. In briefings and in private conversations, these officials cite as obstacles to improving relations alleged Chinese support of Naga rebels, an attack on India in the Chinese-owned Hong Kong newspaper, and Peking's criticism of Prime Minister Desai's meeting with the Dalai Lama.

25X1 [ ] It is unclear why the Indians have gone out of their way to reaffirm their policy of long standing, but the Indians have little incentive at this time to seek any significant change in their relations with Peking. Any broader steps beyond the recent exchange of ambassadors and the slow reopening of trade relations would call into question India's ties with the USSR, its principal supplier of sophisticated military equipment and a major trading partner. The Chinese for their part could offer India little tangible in return, unless they were to return all 25X1 disputed territory--something that now seems out of the question.

BRIEFS

Colombia

25X1 [ ] New rioting yesterday in the slums of Bogota resulted in at least six more deaths, raising to 16 the number of people reportedly killed in two days of violence. Labor leaders officially announced the lifting of the general strike as scheduled at midnight Wednesday, but thousands of troops continued to patrol the streets of the capital, where looting and sporadic demonstrations were still occurring. The government has extended the dusk-to-dawn curfew for an additional day.

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China-USSR

25X1 [ ] In remarks made yesterday to a group of Japanese politicians, Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping reportedly reiterated Peking's view that the Sino-Soviet treaty of alliance "virtually has already died of itself." Teng said that the Chinese, one year before Mao's death, had already decided not to extend the treaty after it expires in 1980.

25X1 [ ] The treaty, signed in 1950, will remain in force if neither the Chinese nor the Soviets give notice one year before the expiration date. Teng is the first Chinese leader to indicate explicitly that Peking will not renew the treaty, and his invoking of Mao's authority emphasizes Peking's continuing resistance to any general improvement in Sino-Soviet relations.

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